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## 日本外交文書

昭和期Ⅱ第二部第三卷  
(昭和九年対欧米・国際関係)

日付索引

## 一 外交政策一般

1 昭和9年1月24日

広田(弘毅)外務大臣より  
在満州国菱刈(隆)大使、在英国松平  
(恒雄)大使、在米国武富(敏彦)臨時  
代理大使他宛(電報)

第六十五回議會での広田外務大臣外交演説に

関する本邦各紙論調について

付記 一月二十三日付

「第六十五回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣  
演説」

本省 1月24日後10時20分発

合第九九號

外相議會演説ニ關スル本邦新聞論調(廿四日)

各紙共外相ノ演説ニ贊意ヲ表シ要ハ今後ノ外交工作ニアリ  
トスル點ニ於テ大体一致セリ主要新聞論調左ノ通り

東京朝日、外相ノ常識的ニシテ地味ナル外交手腕ハ漸次外  
交ヲ正常ノ地位ト方向ニ轉換セシメツツアリ外相ノ演説ハ  
此ノ常識的ニシテ地味ナル外交「コース」ヲ極メテ平凡

ラ同時ニ着實ニ指標シ反映シ居ルモノナリ

日日、外交第一主義ヲ強調セル外相ノ演説ハ國民ノ抱ク對  
外政策ヲ如實ニ表明ス我國ハ飽迄外交第一主義ヲ以テ對外  
關係ヲ處理セントスルモノニシテ國外ノ一部ニ於テ疑惑視  
シ居ル我國ノ軍備ハ外相ノ述ヘタルカ如ク其ノ性質自体ニ  
於テ全然防禦的自衛的ナリ此ノ點ハ特ニ我國民力聲ヲ大ニ  
シテ友邦諸國民ニ叫ハント欲スル所ニシテ同時ニ我國軍事  
豫算ノ數字ノミニ拘泥シ其ノ目的ヲ誤解シツツアル一部外  
國民ノ注意ヲ促サント欲ス外相力對露關係ニ付率直ニ「ソ」  
聯當局近來ノ變調的態度ヲ指摘シ乍ラ然モ依然對露關係ノ  
親善力維持セラルコトヲ希望セル點ハ「ソ」聯當局ノ熟  
慮反省ス可キ所ナル可シ

報知、日本力直面スル外交不安ハ實ハ國內ノ不安ナル情勢  
カ外國ニ反映シ今日ノ極東危機ヲ生シタルモノニ外ナラス  
外相力議會ニ聲明セル點ハ現内閣ノ外交方針トシテ一應ノ  
安心ヲ世界ニ與フ可シ然レトモ現實ノ根本問題ハ内閣力國

民大衆ヲ率キ其ノ抱懷スル平和政策ヲ具体化シ得ルヤ否ヤニ在リ

英宛ニハ「露ヲ除ク在歐各大使ニ轉電シ在歐各公使ニ郵送アリ度シ」ト附加ノコト  
米宛ニハ「加奈陀、紐育、市俄古、桑港ニ郵送シ伯ニ轉電シ伯ヲシテ在南米各公使ニ郵送セシメラレ度シ」ト附加ノコト

### (付記)

第六十五回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣演説

(昭和九年一月二十三日)

私ハ、昨年九月圖ラズモ外務ノ重責ヲ負フコトト爲リマシテ、今日茲ニ帝國ノ對外關係ニ付所見ヲ開陳スルヲ得ルハ、私ノ光榮トスル所デアリマス。

滿州事變及滿洲國問題ニ關シ、帝國ト國際聯盟トハ、東亞ニ於ケル平和維持ノ根本義ニ付、不幸ニシテ大ナル意見ノ相違ガアリマシタ爲、帝國政府ハ、遂ニ昨年三月二十七日ヲ以テ脫退ヲ通告スルノ已ムヲ得ザルニ至ツタノデアリマス。此ノ重大ナル決定ヲ致シマシタ際、畏クモ 天皇陛下

アルハ同慶ノ至デアリマス。今私ハ其ノ内帝國ト隣接ノ關係ヲ有スル諸國ニ付テ、最近ノ外交關係ヲ少シク述ベタイト思フノデアリマス。

帝國ト緊密且特別ノ關係ニ在ル滿洲國ニ於キマシテハ、建國以來英邁ナル溥儀執政閣下初メ、同國政府當局ノ倦ムコトナキ努力ト、日滿議定書ノ精神ニ基ク帝國ノ全幅ノ援助トニ依リマシテ、著々ト其ノ建設ノ歩ヲ進メ、諸般ノ施設漸次其ノ緒ニ就キ、殊ニ治安ノ維持、産業交通ノ發展、財政ノ確立及文教ノ進展等ニ付顯著ナル成績ヲ擧グルニ至リマシタノミナラズ、同國朝野ノ翹望スル帝政問題モ近ク實現セラレ、新興獨立國トシテノ國礎モ愈固キヲ加フルノ運ビニ至ラントスルコトハ、獨リ滿洲國ノ爲ノミナラズ、東洋ノ平和延テ世界平和ノ爲、慶賀ニ堪ヘヌ次第デアリマス。吾人ハ今後共聖旨ノ在ル所ヲ奉體シ、官民相携ヘテ同國發展ノ爲ニ極力寄與セネバナラヌト考ヘテ居リマス。

次ニ帝國政府ハ、東亞ニ於ケル平和ノ維持ニ付重大ナル責任ヲ感じ、且確固タル決意ヲ有スルモノデアリマスガ、之ガ爲ニハ支那自體ノ安定ガ最肝要ナリト思考スルノデアリマス。從テ、支那ガ速ニ其ノ治安ト繁榮トヲ回復スルハ、

ニハ詔書ヲ煥發セラレ、我帝國ノ向フベキ進路ヲ明確ニ宣示遊サレタノデアリマス。即チ、

「今次滿洲國ノ新興ニ當リ帝國ハ其ノ獨立ヲ尊重シ健全ナル發達ヲ促スヲ以テ東亞ノ禍根ヲ除キ世界ノ平和ヲ保ツノ基ナリト爲ス」ト宣ハセ給ヒ、更ニ「然リト雖國際平和ノ確立ハ朕常ニ之ヲ冀求シテ止マス是ヲ以テ平和各般ノ企圖ハ向後亦協力シテ渝ルナシ今ヤ聯盟ト手ヲ分チ帝國ノ所信ニ是レ從フト雖固ヨリ東亞ニ偏シテ友邦ノ誼ヲ疎カニスルモノニアラス愈信ヲ國際ニ篤クシ大義ヲ宇内ニ顯揚スルハ夙夜朕カ念トスル所ナリ」ト仰セラレテ居ルノデアリマス。我國民ニシテ今後益協力一致、以テ聖旨ニ副ヒ奉ルコトニ努力スルニ於キマシテハ、帝國ノ公明正大ナル態度ハ、必ズヤ世界ニ徹底スルニ至リ、帝國ノ前途ハ實ニ光輝ニ滿ツルコトト確信スルノデアリマス。私ト致シマシテモ、我對外交關係ノ處理ニ當リ右聖旨ヲ奉體シ、「世界平和ヲ念トシ外交手段ニ依リ我方針ノ貫徹ヲ圖ル」コトニ渾身ノ努力ヲ傾注セントスルモノデアリマス。

幸ニ帝國ト友好各國トノ關係ハ、聯盟脫退後ニ於テモ外交上ハ勿論、通商貿易上モ一層密接トナリ、親善ヲ加ヘツツ

帝國政府ノ衷心ヨリ希望スル所デアリマシテ、兩國力常ニ善隣互助ノ關係ヲ保チ、以テ東亞ノ平和及發達ニ貢獻スルコトハ、當然ノ使命ト云ハナケレバナラヌノデアリマス。

然ルニ、支那ノ政局ヲ見マスニ、未ダ斯ノ如キ希望ノ實現ニ遠ザカリ居リマスノハ誠ニ遺憾デアリマス。近來ニ至リ支那政府ハ、其ノ從前執リ來レル抗日政策ノ非ナルヲ悟リ、日支關係打開ノ方針ヲ決定セルヤノ情報モアリマスガ、今日迄ノ處右情報ヲ裏書スベキ具體的事實ヲ認メ得ザル狀況デアリマス。若シ支那ニシテ帝國ノ眞意ヲ諒解シ、誠意ヲ現實ニ示シテ來マスナラバ、帝國トシテモ之ニ順應シ、充分好意的態度ヲ以テ之ニ報ユルニ吝ナラザルモノデアリマス。目下北支地方ハ政務整理委員會ノ統制ノ下ニ比較的平穩ナル狀態ヲ維持シテ居リマスノハ、誠ニ喜バシキコトデアリマス。帝國政府トシテハ、滿洲國ト同地方トノ接壤關係並ニ北支停戰協定維持ノ見地等ニ顧ミ、其ノ治安維持ニ付テハ特別ノ關心ヲ持ツモノデアリマシテ、苟モ同地方ノ治安ヲ亂スガ如キ事態ノ發現セザランコトヲ期待スルモノデアリマス。又同時ニ、支那ニ於ケル共產黨ノ活動及共產軍跳梁ノ狀況ニ付テハ、帝國政府トシテモ、深甚ナル關心

ヲ以テ注意ヲ拂ウテ居ル次第デアリマス。  
帝國ト「ソ」聯邦トノ國交關係ヲ顧ミマスニ、大正十四年北京基本條約ノ成立以來、兩國ハ正常ナル接觸ヲ續ケ來リ、滿洲事變發生後モ相互ノ立場ヲ善ク諒解シマシテ、其ノ間難問題ノ發生ヲ見ナカツタノデアリマス。然ルニ、近來「ソ」聯邦ノ我國ニ對スル態度ニハ、若干ノ變調ヲ呈シタルヤノ觀ガアリマスノミナラズ、「ソ」聯邦ハ頻リニ新聞通信等ニ依リ内外ニ向ツテ我國ニ對スル非難ノ聲ヲ放チ、殊更事態ノ惡化ヲ吹聴シテ其ノ内治外交上ニ之ヲ利用スルノ感アルハ、誠ニ意外且遺憾トスル所デアリマス。由來帝國政府ノ「ソ」聯邦ニ對スル公正ナル態度ハ、滿洲事變ノ以前ト以後トヲ問ハズ、終始一貫シテ居リ、國體思想等ニ於テハ根本的ニ相容レザルモノアルニ拘ラズ、常ニ善隣ノ關係ヲ持續シ、且平和手段ヲ以テ案件ノ解決ニ努メタノデアリマス。特ニ滿洲國ノ成立後ニ於キマシテハ、直接境ヲ接スル日、滿、「ソ」三國間ノ國交關係ノ調整ガ、東亞平和ノ爲極メテ必要デアルトノ信念ニ基キマシテ、帝國政府ハ常ニ之ガ爲努力ヲ續ケテ居ル次第デアリマス。現ニ「ソ」聯邦側ノ宣傳ニ拘ラズ、我日本軍ハ實際滿、「ソ」國境ニ

於テ何等新ナル軍事的施設ヲ爲シ居ラザルハ勿論、昨年六月以來北滿鐵道ノ讓渡交渉ニ付、帝國政府ガ滿、「ソ」兩國ノ間ニ、仲介斡旋ノ勞ヲ執リ來ツタノモ亦右方針ヲ實行スルノ趣旨ニ外ナラナイノデアリマス。事態斯ノ如クデアリマシテ、「ソ」聯邦ニ於テモ必ズヤ速カラズ我誠意ヲ充分諒得スルニ至ルベキヲ確信シテ居リマス。而シテ、北滿鐵道讓渡ノ交渉ハ、不幸停頓ノ狀態トナツテ居ルノデアリマスガ、右交渉モ速カラズ再開ニ至ランコトヲ冀望スルモデアリマス。  
次ニ、帝國ト北米合衆國トノ關係ヲ觀察シマスニ、本來兩國間ニハ根本的ニ解決困難ナル問題ハ存在セズト言ヒ得ルノデアリマス。抑帝國ハ米國ニ對シ、常ニ衷心ヨリ善隣ノ關係ヲ希望スルモノデアリマシテ、進ンデ事ヲ構ヘントスルガ如キコトナキハ勿論デアリマスガ、同時ニ米國ニ於テモ、東亞ニ於ケル帝國ノ地位ヲ正當ニ諒得スルニ吝ナラザルベキヲ信ズル次第デアリマス。唯滿洲事變發生以來、米國ノ對日輿論ハ一時惡化シ、爲ニ兩國民間ニ感情ノ疎隔ヲ生ジタルヤノ觀ヲ呈スルニ至リマシタガ、固ヨリ帝國トシハ、東亞百年ノ平和ヲ樹立セントスルノ外何等他意ナキ次

第デアリマスカラ、米國側ニ於テモ複雜ニシテ特異ナル東亞ノ事態ヲ充分ニ認識シ、我國ガ東亞平和ノ安定力タル所以ヲ諒解スルニ於キマシテハ、日米間ノ感情ノ緊張ハ自ラ緩和セラルベキヲ確信シテ疑ハザル次第デアリマス。依テ彼我兩國ハ、其ノ通商貿易上ノ重要ナル關係ニモ鑑ミ、今後相互ニ益諒解ヲ深メ、歴史的親善關係ヲ増進シ、太平洋ヲ距ツル二大隣邦ノ間ニ、名實共ニ太平ノ氣ヲ漂ハスニ至ランコトヲ冀望シテ已マヌノデアリマス。  
又帝國ト英帝國トノ傳統的親交關係ハ、今日ト雖何等動搖セズ、洋ノ東西ニ於テ類似ノ地理的位置ニ在ル兩國ガ、世界各方面ニ於テ互ニ其ノ立場ヲ理解シ協力ヲ爲スコトハ、世界平和ノ爲ニ貢獻スル所以ト思ヒマス。此ノ意味ニ於テ、英帝國トノ間ニ通商貿易ノ問題ニ付其ノ利害ノ調節ヲ計リ、以テ更ニ兩國親交關係ノ増進ヲ期セントスルモノデアリマス。英帝國ノ重要ナル一員タル印度トノ間ニ於テハ、困難ナル通商問題ノ交渉ガ大體ニ於テ結了ヲ見マシタコトハ、雙方全局ノ爲ニ慶賀スベキコトデアリマス。  
繼テ最近世界ノ狀勢ヲ通觀致シマスニ、政治上ノ不安、經濟上ノ動搖、思想上ノ混亂等ノ爲、國際關係ハ動モスレバ

平調ヲ失ハントスルノ感ガアリマシテ、世界各國民間ニ相互信賴ノ念ガ稀薄ト爲ツタ様ニ考ヘラレマスノハ頗ル遺憾トスル所デアリマス。若シ各國互ニ其ノ誠意ヲ披瀝シテ相互ノ立場ヲ正解シ、以テ萬邦協和ノ大精神ヲ發揮スルニ於テハ、如何ナル問題ニテモ其ノ解決ヲ計ルコト必ズシモ至難デハ無イ様ニ思ヒマス。要ハ各國力無用ナル猜疑排他ノ風ヲ改メ、互ニ信賴協力ノ念ヲ益高クスルニ在リト信ズルモノデアリマス。然ルニ、通商貿易ノ方面ニ於キマシテハ、之ニ對スル障礙ハ何等緩和ノ跡ヲ示サズ、却テ増加スルノ傾向デアリマシテ、曩ニ開カレマシタ「ロンドン」經濟會議モ、遂ニ所期ノ成果ヲ擧グルコトナクシテ休會シタ次第デアリマス。而シテ、近時我國ノ産業ハ著シク發達シマシタ結果、對外貿易モ亦大ニ進展スルニ至リマシタガ、諸外國中ニハ一般の通商制限ノ傾向ト相俟テ、我商品ノ海外進出ニ對シ各種ノ障礙ヲ設クルモノ續出スル形勢デアリマスカラ、帝國政府ハ之ニ對シ銳意機宜ノ對策ヲ講ジツツアル相互ニ其ノ獨自ノ文化ヲ諒解セシムルコトガ與テ力アル譯デアリマスカラ、政府ハ此ノ方面ニ於テ朝野相應ジ、内外

デアリマス。

**The Address of Koki Hirota,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
at the 65th Session of the Imperial Diet,  
January 23rd, 1934.**

I was in September last unexpectedly appointed <sup>(Minister 5)</sup> Minister for Foreign Affairs. I have the honor today to speak on the foreign relations of Japan.

The Japanese Government were obliged to serve notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations on the 27th of March last year, because the Manchurian Incident and the questions regarding the State of Manchoukuo showed that there was no agreement between Japan and the League, on the fundamental principles of preserving peace in East Asia. At the time when the decisive step was taken His Majesty the Emperor graciously issued a Rescript, pointing out clearly and precisely the path this nation should

ニ於ケル適切ナル施設ヲ爲サントスルモノデアリマス。  
以上説明申上ゲタル所ニ依リマシテモ、我對外關係ハ現在ニ於テモ、將又將來ニ於テモ、種々多事デアルコトハ否マレマセヌ。然シナガラ、凡ソ國勢ノ向上スル場合ニハ、其ノ遭遇スベキ事端多々アルモノデアリマスカラ、我國民ニシテ協力一致シ、如何ナル難局ニ逢著スルモ、少シモ動ゼザルノ覺悟ト準備トヲ怠ラザルト同時ニ、冷靜ニ且著實ニ「嚮フ所正ヲ履ミ行フ所中ヲ執リ」、以テ事ニ當ツテ行キマスナラバ、帝國ノ將來ニ付何等不安ヲ感ズルノ要ナキノミナラス、前途寔ニ洋々タルモノアリト思フノデアリマス。之ヲ要スルニ、帝國ハ東亞ニ於ケル平和維持ノ唯一ノ礎トシテ、其ノ全責任ヲ荷フモノデアリマスカラ、吾人ハ一日モ此ノ意識ヲ離レテハナラヌノデアリマス。我外交モ亦國防モ、固ヨリ帝國ノ有スル此ノ重大ナル地位及責任ヨリ發スルモノデアリマシテ、我國防ハ既ニ其ノ性質自體ニ於テ全然防禦的デアリ、自衛的デアルト共ニ、我外交モ亦、帝國ノ使命ニ基ク正當且合理的主張ヲ貫徹セントスルモノデアリマス。我帝國ノ此ノ自然且現實ノ地位ガ、世界各國ニ依リテモ明白ニ理解セラルベキハ、當然ノコトト信ズルノ

henceforth pursue. It reads: "Now that Manchoukuo has been founded, Our Empire deems it essential to respect the independence of the new state and to encourage its healthy development, in order that the sources of evil in the Far East may be eradicated and an enduring peace thereby established." Further it reads: "However, the advancement of international peace is what, as evermore, We desire, and Our attitude toward enterprises of peace shall sustain no change. By quitting the League and embarking no a course of its own, Our Empire does not mean that it will stand aloof in the Extreme Orient, nor that it will isolate itself thereby from the fraternity of nations. It is Our desire to promote mutual confidence between Our

Empire and all the other Powers and to make known the justice of its cause throughout the world." I am convinced that if we all unite in our endeavours to act in accordance with the wishes of our August Sovereign the world will surely come to realize the fairness and

justice of Japan's position, and bright will be the future of our Empire. Personally speaking, in obedience to the imperial message I am determined to use every ounce of my energy to "carry out our national policy by diplomatic means in the interest of world peace." Fortunately, today after our withdrawal from the League the commercial, as well as diplomatic, relations between Japan and the friendly Powers in general have become even closer and more cordial than before. I wish to avail myself of this occasion to dwell somewhat on the recent phases of our relations with those countries which are situated in our immediate neighbourhood.

Manchoukuo, thanks to the tireless labours of His Excellency the Regent, and of the government authorities, and also to the wholehearted assistance and collaboration extended to her by this country, true to the spirit of the Japan-Manchoukuo Protocol, has been making steady progress along all lines of her constructive work. In ordering the various governmental

institutions, especially in the maintenance of law and order, in the development of industry and communication, in the consolidation of national finance, and in the advancement of education and culture signal success has been achieved. Moreover, a decision is about to be made on the establishment of a monarchical regime, which has been so eagerly awaited by all her people, and which will go far to solidify the foundations of Manchoukuo as a young independent nation. This is a matter of congratulation not for Manchoukuo alone but for the peace of the Orient and the peace of the world. I think it behooves our government and people, always mindful of the Imperial Rescript, to exert their efforts unremittingly in assisting the healthy growth of the new state.

The Japanese Government have serious responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in East Asia, and have a firm resolve in that regard. But what is most essential in the matter is the <sup>(stabilization of)</sup> stabilization of China

herself. Our government sincerely hope for the political and economic rehabilitation of China. They hope that she will be enabled to unite with Japan in performing the obvious mission of both Japan and China to contribute through mutual aid and co-operation to the peaceful development of their part of the globe. Unfortunately the actual situation of the present day China belies all such hopes. It has been reported that of late the Chinese government, realizing the mistake of persisting in their anti-Japanese attitude, have decided to take steps looking toward the rectification of Sino-Japanese relations, but so far no concrete evidence has come to our notice to confirm the truth of the report. Should China appreciate our true motives and give tangible signs of sincerity on her part, Japan would be glad to reciprocate and meet her more than half way in a spirit of good will. It is gratifying to note that North China under the control of the Peiping Political Committee remains comparatively quiet. In view of the

important rights and interests of Japan in that region and of its territorial contiguity with Manchoukuo and also from the standpoint of the Tangku Truce Agreement the question of the maintenance of peace and order in North China is of special concern to Japan. She expects China to see to it that nothing will happen that may bring chaos to that area. Meanwhile we are watching not without grave misgivings the activities of the Communist Party and the increasing rampancy of “Red Armies” in China.

Regarding Japan's relations with the Soviet Union it may be recalled that subsequently to the conclusion of the Peking Basic Treaty in 1925 normal contact was maintained between the two countries, and that even after the Manchurian Incident there was a thorough mutual understanding between the two Powers of their respective positions so that no difficult question was encountered. However, more recently the attitude of the Soviet Union toward Japan seems to have undergone a

change of some sort. It is most surprising and regrettable that the Soviet Union should take to now broadcasting at home and abroad through the press and other channels unwarranted criticisms directed against Japan, and circulate exaggerated stories about aggravations of this or that situation evidently for the political and diplomatic purposes which such rumours are calculated to serve. Japan has consistently preserved her fair and equitable attitude toward the Soviet Union throughout these years past before and after the Manchurian Incident. Despite the fundamental differences in both theory and constitution of the state that divide the two countries, we have always endeavoured to keep on good neighborly terms with Soviet Russia and sought the solution of all questions by pacific means. Especially since the establishment of Manchoukuo, the Japanese Government have been acting solely upon their conviction that the proper adjustment of the tripartite relationship between Japan, Manchoukuo and

the Soviet Union was of paramount importance for the tranquillity of East Asia. Japan is setting up certainly no new military establishments along the Manchoukuo-Soviet frontiers, Moscow propaganda notwithstanding.

Indeed, it is only as part of the above-mentioned friendly policy that Japan has undertaken since last June to act as intermediary between Manchoukuo and the Soviet Union in their negotiations on the proposed transfer of the North Manchuria Railway. Such being the case, I am sure that before long the Soviet Union must come to appreciate fully the true intentions of Japan. It is earnestly hoped that the North Manchuria Railway negotiations, which have unfortunately been at a standstill for some time past will soon be resumed.

It may be definitely stated that between Japan and the United States of America there exists no question that is intrinsically difficult of solution. Far from having any thought of picking a quarrel with America, Japan fervently desires American friendship. At the

same time, I am confident that the United States will not fail to appraise correctly Japan's position in East Asia. Only for a time following the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident public opinion in America was aroused against Japan, bringing about something like temporary estrangement of the two people. It is hardly necessary to reiterate that Japan is actuated by no ulterior motive other than her desire to establish an enduring peace in East Asia. Therefore, if only America will clearly perceive the actual condition of the Orient and realize Japan's rôle as a stabilizing force in East Asia, whatever emotional tention may yet linger between the two peoples is bound to disappear. I sincerely hope that the two great nations across the Pacific will, in view of their important relations, commercial and otherwise, continue to join forces in cultivating their historical friendship and good understanding so as to keep the ocean forever true to its name.

Japan's traditional amity with the British Empire remains unshaken even to these times. I believe the two sea Powers, occupying geographically similar key positions, one in the East and the other in the West, can effectually serve the cause of universal peace, through sympathetic appreciation of their respective stands and whole-hearted collaboration in all quarters of the world. It is in this sense that our government are seeking to readjust whatever conflict of interests relating to questions of trade there may be, and to strengthen further the ties of friendship that bind our empires. That our negotiations with India, an important member of the British Empire, over knotty problems of commerce have now been substantially concluded is a source of gratification on both sides.

Now a survey of the world as a whole reveals a sorry situation in which economic disorder, political unrest and confusion and conflict of ideas threaten to destroy international equilibrium at any moment, while

mutual confidence of the nations in one another appears to have wilted not a little. I consider that no insuperable difficulties need be anticipated in settling any question if the nations manifest their sincerity and, with a true comprehension of one another's position, meet in a genuine and generous spirit of universal brotherhood. What is wanted is the abandonment of rootless jealousy and antagonism and the reinforcement of the sense of unity and mutual interdependence. However, international trade barriers, instead of decreasing, are fast multiplying. The World Economic Conference was forced to adjourn without having achieved the desired results. Of late our industries have taken marked strides with a corresponding expansion in our oversea trade, while, owing to the prevailing economic nationalism, one country after another has begun to set up fresh obstacles against the advance of our export industries. Our government are making earnest efforts to deal effectively with the situation.

Since mutual understanding of one another's unique national culture is of no small value in fostering good will between nations, our government are planning to take suitable measures in concert with private institutions for facilitating the cultural intercourse of our nation with the outside world.

In the light of what I have already stated it is impossible for me to deny that our foreign relations are now, and will be in the future, beset with many serious problems. However, the path of a rising nation is always strewn with problems. As long as our people are united and well prepared to face courageously whatever difficulties may arise, and as long as we retain our composure and sobriety, and "stray not from the path of rectitude, and in action always embrace the golden mean," I am confident that Japan has nothing to fear, and her future will be full of hope. We should not forget for a moment that Japan, serving as the only corner-stone for the edifice of the peace of East

Asia, bears the entire burden of responsibilities. It is this important position and these vast responsibilities in which Japan's diplomacy and national defense are rooted. Our national defense is organized in its very nature for defensive and self-protective purposes. At the same time our diplomacy has no claims to put forth save what is legitimate and rational and consonant with our national mission. That eventually this position, in which Japan naturally and actually finds herself, will be rightly understood by other Powers is, I believe, a foregone conclusion.

編注 本広田外務大臣第六十五回議會演説文は一月三十日付報一普通合第一一二号により情報部から各在外公館に送付された。

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2 昭和9年1月23日 在英国松平大使より  
広田外務大臣宛(電報)

### 広田外務大臣の第六十五回議會演説に関する 英国各紙報道振りにについて

ロンドン 1月23日後発  
本省 1月24日前着

#### 第二〇號

貴大臣<sup>(1)</sup>ノ議會演説ハ二十三日ノ朝刊各紙ニ要領掲載セラレタルカ「タイムス」ノミハ外國記事欄冒頭ニ Foreign Aims of Japan ト題シ一段二條ニ亘リ全文ヲ掲ケ又「ガーディアン」モ右同様ノ欄ニ Japanese Minister's appeal for peace ト題シ二段割トナシ相當目立チ易ク要領ヲ載セタリ而シテ「タイムス」等ハ荒木陸相ノ辭職問題ト結ヒ付ケ評論ヲ加ヘ居ル處其ノ要旨ヲ擧クレハ「タイムス」ハ日本ノ聯盟脫退ノ主導者タル軍國主義ノ巨頭荒木將軍ノ辭職ハ日本ノ外交政策變化ノ緒トナルヘシ而シテ廣田外相ハ議會演説中ニ於テ露國トノ良好ナル關係ノ維持ヲ希望シ居ル處外相ノ言ノ如ク東支鐵道ニ關スル露滿間ノ交渉力進捗スレハ右ハ確ニ強メラルヘク又日米關係ニ關スル言及ハ曩ニ新大

使ノ任命ニ依リ印象付ケラレタル日本ノ太平洋對岸國トノ友誼關係保持ノ希望ヲ裏書キスルモノナリ之ト同時ニ右演説抜粹ヲ讀ム英國人ニシテ其ノ「デフェンシブ、キヤラクター」ニ感銘セシメラレサルモノナカルヘシ滿洲、上海其他ノ軍事行動ハ日本ニ友好的ナル英國内ニスラ不安ノ念ヲ起サシメタル處英國ハ日本ノ政治家カ同國ノ支配權ヲ眞ニ回復シタル證據ヲ求メツツアリトナシ又

「ガーディアン」ハ廣田外相ハ平和ニ對スル希望ヲ繰返シ居ル處日本ハ依然惡口ノ目標トセラレ居リ廣田氏カ議會ニ對シ鳩ノ如キ言ヲ爲シ居ル時「カガノヴィチ」ハ莫斯科ニ於テ牛ノ如ク咆哮シ居レリ東京カ莫斯科ノ軍事的準備ヲ重大視居ルハ當然ナリ當分日本ハ露國ニ向ツテ言葉ノ上ニ於テ満足ヲ與ヘントシ居ルモノノ如クナルカ實際行動コソ言葉ノ價值ヲ示スト同時ニ荒木將軍ノ辭職ヲ意義アラシムルモノナリト論シタリ之ニ對シ「ヘラルド」紙ハ例ノ如キ調子ニテ第一面ニ日本ハ全支那ニ對スル權利ヲ要求ストノ大々の見出ヲ附シ廣田大臣ハ全支那カ日本ノ勢力範圍ナルコトヲ言外ニ要求シ全支那ノ安定ハ日本ノ國民的使命ナリトシ右使命ヲ果ス爲英國ヨリ全幅ノ支持ヲ受クルコトヲ希望

シ居レリ云々ノ長文ノ記事ヲ掲ケ更ニ論説欄ニ於テ日本ノ東亞ニ於ケル大帝國主義計畫ハ今ヤ明瞭トナレリ廣田氏ノ演説ハ安定ナル口實ノ下ニ全支那ヲ其ノ支配下ニ收メントスルモノナル處日本カ獨力ヲ以テ廣大ナル地域ノ政治的支配及經濟的開發ヲ行ハントスルコトカ世界ニ及ホス影響ハ茲ニ述フルノ要無シ日本ノ帝國主義ハ自滅ニ終ルヘク英國ハ斯ル計畫ニ協力ヲ與フルカ如キ事カ問題外ナルコトヲ東京ニ知ラシメサルヘカラスト論シ居レリ

米ニ轉電シ在歐各大使及壽府ニ郵送セリ

3 昭和9年1月24日

在米國武富臨時代理大使より  
廣田外務大臣宛(電報)

### 廣田外務大臣の第六十五回議會演説に關する 米國各紙論評について

別電

一月二十四日發在米國武富臨時代理大使より

廣田外務大臣宛第六九號

右各紙論評要旨

ワシントン 1月24日後發  
本 省 1月25日後着

(別電)

ワシントン 1月24日後發  
本 省 1月25日後着

第六九號

貴大臣議會演説ニ對スル當方面新聞ノ論評要旨左ノ通

紐育「タイムス」(二十四日)

過去二年間ノ日本當局ノ發言中ニハ世界ハ日本ヲ誤解ストノ感シカ常ニ現ハレ居タルカ今回ノ日本外相ノ演説中ニモ亦現ハレ居レリ諸外國ハ東亞ニ於ケル日本ノ利己的ナラサル理想及目的ヲ觀取スルニ妙ニ吝ナルカ日本政府ハ大ニ平和ノ爲盡シ居ル積リニテ今ヤ支露兩國ニ對シ福利ヲ分タンコトヲ提議ス廣田外相ノ言ニ依レハ日本ハ聯盟ヨリ脫退ヲ餘儀ナクセラレタルモ之カ爲却テ同國ト諸國トノ關係ハ密接ノ度ヲ加ヘタリトノコトナリ斯テ日本外務省ハ其ノ政策ヲ世界カ正解セサルニ憤慨ヲ禁シ得サルモノナルニ拘ラス何時カ世界カ日本ノ支那ニ於ケル平和保持者タル地位ヲ理解スルニ至ランコトヲ殊勝ニモ希望シ居レリ唯日本ノ斯ル態度ニ拘ラス支那カ之ニ酬ユル行動ヲ取ラサルヲ廣田外相ハ遺憾トシタル後露國ニ對シ一段ト強キ口調ヲ以テ日本ノ

第六八號

往電第六一號ニ關シ

閣下ノ議會演説ニ對スル新聞論調二十四日朝刊ニ出揃ヒタル處其ノ對米關係ニ關スル部分ハ最モ注意ヲ惹キ大ニ協調的ナリトテ満足ノ意ヲ表スルモノ多ク(「ハースト」系新聞モ同様ナリ)中ニハ演説ヲ荒木陸相ノ辭職又ハ好戰的雜誌記事ニ對スルニ荒伯ノ議會質問ニ結着ケ日本ニ「リベラル」ナ分子擡頭シ來レリト爲スモノアリ尙單ニ對米關係ノミナラス一般ニ平和政策ヲ述ヘラレタル穩健ナル語句ハ平素口喧シキ婦人團體又ハ平和團體ニ好感ヲ與ヘタルモノノ如ク現ニ二十三日朝當地ノ一婦人團體ヨリ代表者ヲ本官ニ送り贊意ヲ表シタルモノアリ尤モ「ボルチモア」、サン、紐育「ヘラルド」、トリビュン」等ノ有力新聞中ニハ幾分懷疑的態度ヲ表シタルモノアルト同時ニ華府「スター」ノ如キ廣田外相ノ言ノ友誼的ナルハ事實ナルモ日本カ今後實際ニ爲ス處ヲ見ル必要アリ俄ニ樂觀ヲ許サストノ見解政府部内ニアリト評シ居レリ主ナル新聞論評ノ要旨別電ス

英、紐育、市俄古、桑港ニ轉電セリ

英ヨリ蘭ヘ轉電シ在歐各大使ヘ轉報アリ度シ

平和的態度ニ酬ユル處無キヲ指摘シ其ノ最近ノ態度ヲ以テ甚タ意外且ツ遺憾ナリト言明シタリ莫斯科ノ連中ハ此ノ言ヲ以テ「ブラフ」又ハ威嚇ト見ルナランカ何レニセヨ一般ハ之ヲ以テ正シク日本カ希望スル極東平和ニ對スル脅威ト看做スナラン

紐育「ヘラルド」、トリビュン」(二十四日)

廣田外相ノ外交方針ニ關スル言明中ニハ別ニ「センセイシヨナル」ナ個所無シ世間ハ其ノ内ニ荒木陸相辭職ノ鍵ヲ發見セントシ仔細ニ點檢シ居ルニ相違無キ處右辭職ノ理由ニハ日本政府ハ同陸相ノ強硬政策ヲ卻ケ廣田外相ノ演説ヲ契機ニ「リベラル」ナル政策ヲ採ラントセルモノナリト云フ説ト同陸相ハ近來餘リニ妥協的トナレル爲強硬派タル少壯軍部ノ支持ヲ失ヒタルモノナリトノ説トアリ今日日本外相ノ演説ヲ注意深く讀ム時ハ其ノ何レノ點ヲモ指示スル點ヲ多分ニ發見スヘシ事實同外相ノ示セル政策ハ確乎タル點アルト共ニ協調的ナル處アリ同外相ハ支、露、米、歐洲等各方面ニ向ヒ日本カ亞細亞ニ於テ武力ニ依リ獲得セル地位ハ獨リ日本ノ爲ノミナラス

諸國ノ爲ニモ利益ナリト述ヘタルカ演説中ノ「リベラル」



ナ點ハ東亞ニ於ケル日本ノ霸權ヲ認メム事ヲ世界ニ促シタル點ニ存ス

「ボルチモア、サン」(二十四日)

廣田外相ノ演説ハ凡ソ國家ノ實際爲ス處ト其ノ理想トノ不一致ニ直面スル一切ノ政治家ニ取り模範的ノモノナラン例ヘハ同外相ハ總テノ國カ日本ノ立場ヲ了解セム事ヲ欲スルモ實際ニ了解セムコトヲ(脱?)コトハ日本カ所謂極東安定ノ保持者ナル事、滿洲事件カ日本ノ支持ノ下ニ爲サレタル一獨立國民ノ行動ニ過キササル事、日本カ聯盟ヲ脱退シタルハ聯盟カ亞細亞ノ平和維持ニ關スル基本原則ヲ了解セサル爲ナル事之ナリ如何ニ日本ト其ノ隣國トカ一層理解シ合ハシム事ヲ希望スト雖モ現實ノ事態ヲ全ク無視シテハ到底多クヲ期待シ得サル次第ナルカ此ノ點ハ素ヨリ廣田外相モ列國ノ同僚ト大体意見ヲ同フシ通商上ノ障礙ヲ除去シ經濟的國家主義ヲ緩和セサルヘカラスト言ヘルカ然ラハ近代史上最モ放埒ナ經濟的國家主義ノ一事例タル滿洲事件ニ付テハ日本ノ判斷ヲ下シ得ル出來事トシテ外部ノ世界ハ之ヲ(脱?)セサルヘカラスト爲ス然シナカラ日本ノミ特別ノ立場ニ置カントスルモノトセハ偽善ナラン讎ツテ日本ノ國家主義ハ

幾多ノ障礙横ハリ兩國間ニ「本質的ニ解決困難ナル問題無し」トノ見解ニ必スシモ同意シ得サルモ平和ノ基礎發見ノ爲日米兩國民ハ萬難ヲ排シ荆棘ノ道ヲ進マサルヘカラスト今回日本カ示シタル友好ト情誼ノ「ゼスチュア」ニ對シ米國ハ此ノ精神ヲ以テ酬ヒサルヘカラスト要スルニ日本ノ「ゼスチュア」ハ日米間ニ恬淡且熱氣アル討議ヲ行フヘキ機會ヲ與ヘタルモノニシテ吾人ハ之ニ對シ眞摯ナル氣持ヲ以テ歡迎ノ意ヲ表スヘシ

「ボルチモア、イヴニング、サン」(二十三日)

日本高官ノ口ヨリ鄭重ナル對米親善ノ意思表示ヲ聞カサルコト久シカリシニ今次廣田外相カ熾烈ナル親米感情ヲ表現シタルハ吾々ノ欣快トスル處ナリ而モ右カ米國ノ露國承認ニ影響サレタル結果ナルコトニ想到スルトキ吾人ノ喜ハ更ニ大ナルモノアリ

華府「スター」(二十三日)

荒木陸相ノ辭職ト殆ント日ヲ同フシテ廣田外相ハ米露兩國ニ對シ從來ノ友好關係維持ヲ希望セル頗ル穩健ナル議會演説ヲ爲シタリ同外相ハ其ノ中ニ早晚米露兩國ハ極東ノ安定勢力タル日本ノ地位ノ結局彼等ニ利益ナルコトヲ理解スル

常軌ヲ逸シ又其ノ上海、滿洲ニ於ケル侵略行爲ハ列國共同シテ平和ヲ維持スルノ望ヲ失ハシメタリト雖モ同國ノ病氣ハ又世界大多數ノ國ノ罹レル病氣ト軌ヲ一ニスルモノナルニ鑑ミ此ノ際御互ニ罪ヲ鳴ラシ合フヨリハ敢然立ツテ現下ノ忌ハシキ氣運ニ挑戰シ其ノ恐れヘキ結果ニ對シ一段ノ注意ヲ喚起スル方有效ナラン

費府「レコード」(二十四日)

親米の態度ヲ表明セル廣田外相ノ議會演説ト荒木陸相ノ辭職トハ日本ノ外交方針轉換ノ契機ニシテ二荒伯ノ爲シタル議會質問ト共ニ日本自由主義ノ發言權恢復ヲ意味スル重要事件ナリ

費府「パブリック、レッヂャー」(二十四日)

過去二年間ニ於ケル日米關係ノ疎隔ヲ打破シ相互ノ了解ヘ歩ミ寄ラント日本ヨリ持掛ケ來ラントハ些カ吾人ノ思ヒ設ケサリシ處ナリ廣田外相ハ言フ「日米間ニ本質的ニ解決困難ナル問題無し」ト此ノ言辭ハ日米兩國間ニ現存スル誤解及衝突ノ原因ノ再檢討ヲ要望スルモノナリ惟フニ此ノ際再檢討ヲ要スル主要問題三アリ排日問題、海軍軍縮問題及滿洲問題之ナリ而シテ是等問題ニ關シ實際的了解ニ達スヘク

ニ至ルヘキコトヲ信スト述ヘタルカ其ノ果シテ然リヤ否ヤハ唯將來ノ事實カ之ヲ證明スヘシ獨立國家滿洲國ニ關スル經緯ハ今更何共致シ難シトスルモ若シ日本ニシテ米國政府及米國民ノ同國ニ對シ常時抱キ居ル善意ト好感ヲ喪失セサラント欲セハ今後荒木主義ヲ徹底的ニ清算セサルヘカラスト

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4 昭和9年1月26日 在中國有吉(明)公使より  
廣田外務大臣宛(電報)

廣田外務大臣の第六十五回議會演説に關する

中國各紙報道振りについて

上海 1月26日後発  
本省 1月26日後着

第五九號

二十四日當地主要新聞ハ閣下ノ議會演説全文(聯合電)ヲ掲載セル處「タイムス」カ新平和政策ヲ稱讃シ中華日報(汪兆銘機關紙)カ廣田外相演説ノ要領ハ滿洲國ニ對スル日本ノ統治權強化及中國ヲシテ日本ノ中國支配ヲ承認セシメントスルニアル處中國問題ハ既ニ國際問題トナリ日本ノ聯盟脱退以來英米露ノ各國ハ益々軍備ノ擴張ニ腐心シ居レリ中

國ヨリ見レハ滿洲問題解決セスンハ中日問題延テハ國際問題ノ解決無シ所謂善隣關係ノ回復ニ關シ日本側ヨリ對支侵略政策拋棄ノ具體的證明ヲ示サスシテ中國ニノミ日本ノ眞意諒解ノ具體的證明ヲ求ムルハ原因ト結果トヲ顛倒スルモノナリ

トノ主旨ヲ論セル外未タ論說ヲ掲ケタルモノ無シ

北平、南京、滿へ轉電セリ

5 昭和9年1月26日 在ソ連邦大田(為吉)大使より  
広田外務大臣宛(電報)

#### 広田外務大臣の第六十五回議會演說に關する

##### ソ連邦各紙論調について

モスクワ 1月26日後発  
本省 1月27日後着

#### 第四六號

二十六日ノ「イズベスチャ」ハ二十五日東京發「タス」電報トシテ閣下ノ議會演說ノ要旨ヲ掲ケタル後之ニ左ノ短評ヲ附セリ

日本ノ國際關係改善ノ爲幾分積極的役割ヲ演シ得ヘカリシ

廣田外相ノ演說ハ此ノ目的ヲ達シタルモノト認メ得ヘキヤ疑ハシ外相ハ蘇聯ニ對シテハ日蘇關係ノ緊張ハ近來行ハレタル蘇側ノ態度ノ變化ニ依ルモノトナスカ如キ斷定ヲ下シテ極東時局ノ尖鋭化ニ對スル日本政府ノ責任ヲ輕減セントシタルモノノ如キモ外相ノ斷定ニ依リ自己及日本政府ノ責任ヲ回避シ得サルヘキハ論ヲ俟タス不侵略條約ノ提議日蘇滿國境委員會ノ創設及東支鐵道賣却等蘇聯ハ極東ノ平和維持ヲ保障スル準備アルコトヲ稱セルカ右蘇聯ノ一貫セル平和政策ハ何等變更セラレタルコト無ク今後ト雖モ變更無カルヘシ乍然外相ノ演說モ陸相ノ更迭モ日本政府カ口頭ニ依ラス事實ニ於テ斷乎トシテ軍部ノ讓成セル對蘇關係緊張ノ一掃ニ着手スルコトニ決シタルコトヲ示シ居ラサルヲ遺憾トス

又同日ノ「プラヴダ」ハ二十五日東京發「タス」電報トシテ貴族院ニ於ケル加藤衆議院ニ於ケル床次町田及安藤四氏ノ質問演說ノ要旨及首相海相陸相ノ應答振りヲ掲ケタル後左ノ短評ヲ附セリ

日本ノ議會ニ於テスラ日本政府ノ外交政策カ激烈ナル討論ヲ  
ナシ外相ノ演說モ陸相更迭ノ事實モ日本政府ノ外交政策カ平和ノ實際的維持ヲ保障スルカ如ク變更シタルコトヲ明示シ居ラサルヲ遺憾トス蘇政府カ日蘇關係ノ緊張ヲ一掃スル爲執リタル方針ヲ維持スル前提ハ日本政府カ政策ヲ變更シ以テ日本軍閥及奪取的反蘇冒險者流カ蘇聯ニ對シ準備シツツアル侵略計畫ノ實現ヲ容認セサルコトニ在ラサルヘカラス

#### (欄外記入)

カカル論理アリシヤ?

6 昭和9年11月30日 在米國齋藤(博)大使より  
広田外務大臣宛(電報)

#### 広田外務大臣の第六十六回議會演說に關する

##### 米國各紙報道振りについて

付記 十一月三十日付

「第六十六回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣演說」

ワシントン 11月30日後発  
本 省 12月1日後着

### 第五三四號

三十日各新聞ハ臨時議會ニ於ケル閣下ノ演説ノ全文(紐育「タイムス」及「ヘラルド・トリビュン」)又ハ要旨ヲ掲ケタルカ右ニ關シ「ヘラルド・トリビュン」ハ大要左記ノ如キ華府通信ヲ報道セリ

軍縮問題ニ關スル米國政策如何ノ論議ハ廣田外相ノ議會演説ニ對スル反應トシテ深刻化シ來レリ同演説ハ日本大使館並ニ領事館ヨリ廣ク配布セラレタル事實ニ鑑ミ國內輿論ノ統一ト共ニ米國內ノ宣傳ヲ目的トセルモノト察セラル華府官邊ハ公ニ批評ヲ加フルヲ差控ヘタルモ右演説ハ日本ノ海軍政策ニ關シ何等新タニ説明スル所無ク倫敦會議ノ前途ニ新ナル希望ヲ與フルモノニモ非スト觀察シ「攻ムル事ヲ難カラシメ守ルコトヲ容易ナラシム」トノ外相ノ主張ニ付テハ右ハ華府條約ニテ既ニ實現セラレタル所ニシテ日本ハ對米五對一或ハ六對一ノ比率ニテモ充分自國ヲ防禦シ得ヘク現ニ日本ハ各國ノ非難ヲ無視シテ滿洲占領、上海攻撃ヲ敢行シタルモ他ノ海軍國ヨリ何等ノ抵抗ヲモ受ケス完全ナ

ル行動ノ自由ヲ有シタルニアラスヤト爲シ「日本カ無脅威無侵略ノ方針確立ニ努メツツアリ」トノ點モ怪訝ノ言ナリトシ又外相ハ「東洋ノ時局ハ改善サレツツアリ」ト謂フモ日本ハ滿洲攻略ニ依リ支那ノ領土保全ヲ保障スル九國條約ヲ無効ナラシメ華府、倫敦二條約ノ廢棄ニ依リ其ノ行動ノ自由ヲ束縛スル凡ユル現存國際協定ヲ破棄スル既定方針ノ第二段階ニ進ミツツアリ東洋ノ凡ユル平和機構ハ總括的ニ日本ニ依リ廢棄セラレタリト觀居リ要スルニ米國當局ハ右演説ヲ觀テ日本ノ華府條約廢棄ノ決意ヲ確信スルニ至レルモ日本ニ對スル四割優勢保持ノ主張ハ斷シテ讓ラサルヘク又海軍制限ノ破レタル場合默視セサルヘシ

平和團體ハ造艦競争防止運動ヲ開始セルモ「グインソン」ハ條約廢棄ノ場合下院海軍委員會カ日本ノ三隻建艦ニ對シ五隻建艦ノ一般の權限ヲ大統領ニ與フヘシトノ自己ノ提案ヲ支持スヘキヲ確信スル旨言明セリ又「ホラー」上院議員ハ建艦競争ハ窮極戰爭ヲ誘致スヘシ日英米三國カ其ノ内幕ハ共ニ破産ニ瀕シ乍ラモ戰爭ノ可能性ヲ見サル限り殆ト至ク無益ナル軍備ニ巨額ノ經費ヲ投セントシツツアルハ至ク狂氣沙汰ニシテ今ヤ實際ニ經費ヲ負擔シ實際戰爭ニ從事ス

ル者ノ意見ヲ徹スヘキノ時ナリト述ヘ日本カ此ノ際早急ニ華府條約ヲ廢棄セントスルハ不幸事ニシテ斯ノ如キ事柄ハ疑惑ヲ招カサル様慎重ニ措置スヘキモノナリトノ意見ヲ發表セリ

英ニ轉電シ紐育ニ郵送セリ

### (付記)

第六十六回帝國議會ニ於ケル廣田外務大臣演説<sup>(編注)</sup>

(昭和九年十一月三十日)

私ハ前回第六十五議會ニ於テ、帝國ノ對外方針ヲ開陳スルノ機會ヲ得マシタガ、其ノ後内閣ノ更迭後ニ於キマシテモ、引續キ當時開陳シタル方針ニ從ツテ、外交案件ノ處理ニ當ツテ居ル次第アリマス。

其ノ後ニ於ケル我が對外關係ニ付概觀シマスニ、帝國ノ東亞ニ於ケル地位ハ漸次列強ノ理解認識ヲ加フルニ至リマシテ、歐米諸國及中華民國等トノ關係ハ、從ツテ漸次親善ヲ増シツツアルコトハ、私ノ至極欣幸ニ存スル所デアリマス。私ハ茲ニ前議會後ニ於ケル帝國外交上ノ重要ナル二、三ノ問題ニ付テ、其ノ經過ヲ報告シタイト思ヒマス。

我盟邦滿洲國ガ獨立國トシテ健全ナル發達ヲ遂グルコトハ、聯盟脫退ノ當時煥發セラレマシタ詔書ニ於テ御垂示ノ通、帝國ノ根本的關心事デアリマスガ、爾來同國ニ於テハ内外ノ諸政愈進ミ、本年三月ニハ帝政樹立セラレ、國基永遠ニ奠マルニ至リマシタコトハ、誠ニ慶祝ニ堪ヘマセヌ。畏クモ 天皇陛下ニハ本年五月秩父宮殿下ヲ滿洲國ニ御差遣遊バサレテ慶賀ノ意ヲ表セラレ、日滿兩國ノ關係愈緊密ノ度ヲ加ヘマシタコトハ、吾人一同ノ感激措ク能ハザル所デアリマス。

帝國ト「ソ」聯邦トノ關係ニ付キマシテハ、前議會ニ於テ御報告致シマシタ以來稍々良好ニ向ヒツツアル次第デアリマシテ、北洋漁業ノ如キモ本年ハ平穩裏ニ事業ヲ遂行シ得マシタコトハ、兩國國交ノ爲慶賀スベキコトデアリマス。又北滿鐵道ノ讓渡交渉ハ本年初頃一時停頓ノ狀態ニ在リマシタガ、其ノ後三月頃ヨリ再び交渉ガ開始セラルルニ至ツタノデアリマス。然ルニ其ノ後更ニ幾度カ難關ニ遭逢セルコトモアリマシタガ、其ノ間帝國政府ノ仲介斡旋ニ依リマシテ、今ヤ代償額其ノ他讓渡ニ關スル重要條件ノ大部分ニ付テハ既ニ意見ノ一致ヲ見ルニ至リマシテ、目下ノ所デハ

三、四ノ手續問題ガ未解決ノ狀態ニ在ルノデアリマス。此等ノ事項ハ細目ノ點ニ亘ルモノガアリマスノデ、其ノ解決迄ニハ尙多少ノ時日ヲ要スル次第デアリマスガ、成ルベク速ニ交渉ノ成立ヲ見ムコトヲ期待致シテ居リマス。

目下倫敦ニ於テ開催中ノ海軍軍縮豫備交渉ハ、主トシテ日英米ノ三大海軍國ノ間ニ行ハレ、實質ニ於テ極メテ重要ナル交渉トシテ、其ノ成行ハ帝國ノ注視ヲ怠ラザル所デアリマス。英國政府ヨリ海軍軍縮會議ヲ容易ナラシムル爲、倫敦ニ於テ關係國間ニ個別的ニ豫備交渉ヲ行ヒタキ旨申出ガアリマシタノハ本年ノ五月十七日デアリマスガ、帝國政府ニ於テハ右豫備交渉ノ開催ヲ適當ト認メマシテ之ニ同意ノ旨ヲ通報シ、結局六月十八日以來倫敦ニ於テ關係國間ニ交渉ノ開始ヲ見ルニ至リマシタ。大體最初ハ明年開催セラルベキ會議ノ手續問題ニ付意見ノ交換ガ行ハレ、十月ヨリ再開ノ交渉ニ於テハ、日英米ノ三國間ニ軍縮ノ實質問題ニ關スル交渉ガ行ハレツツアルノデアリマス。

右交渉ニ當リマシテハ、帝國ハ我國防ノ安固ニ十分ナル兵力ノ保有ヲ期スルト共ニ、不脅威ノ侵略ノ原則ヲ確立セムトスルモノデアリマシテ、帝國ガ從來ノ比率主義ヲ廢シ、

關係國間ニ兵力量ノ共通最大限度ヲ設クベキコトヲ主張スルノモ此ノ趣旨ニ基クモノデアリマス。而シテ又帝國ハ軍縮ノ精神ヲ發揮スル爲、極力軍備ノ縮減ヲ計リ、以テ將來成ルベク國民負擔ノ緩和ニ資セムトスルモノデアリマシテ、之ガ協定ニ當リマシテハ、右共通ノ限度ヲ成ルベク低下セシムルト共ニ、攻撃ノ兵力ハ之ヲ極力縮減シ、防禦ノ兵力ハ之ヲ整備シ、以テ各國ヲシテ攻ムルニ難ク守ルニ不安ナカラシメムトスルノデアリマス。而シテ帝國代表ニ於テハ右ノ方針ヲ體シ我主張ノ貫徹ヲ圖ルト共ニ、合理的ナル新條約ノ妥結ヲ見ルニ至ル様努力ヲ續ケテ居ル次第デアリマシテ、帝國ニ於テハ英米其ノ他關係國ニ於テ我主張ノ公正妥當ナルヲ諒解シ、新ナル軍縮協定ノ成立ニ依リ、世界的平和ガ更ニ確保増進セラレムコトヲ希望スルモノデアリマス。尙豫備交渉ノ經過ハ公表セザルコトトナツテ居リマスカラ、只今ノ所詳細ニ申上グルコトハ出來マセヌガ、何レ他日更ニ申上グル機會アランコトヲ期待シテ居ルノデアリマス。

次ニ我對外通商關係ニ付キマシテ主要ナル案件ノ經過ヲ申述ベマス。

英領印度トノ通商交渉ハ本年一月、日印代表者間ニ大體實質的意見ノ一致ヲ見マシタ處、愈條文ノ作成ニ際シ印度側ヨリ二、三重要ナル原則的問題提起セラレ、之ガ爲交渉一時澁滞スルニ至リマシタガ、漸ク四月十九日ニ至リ、兩代表間ニ條約案ノ假調印ヲ行フコトトナリマシタ。其ノ後日英兩政府間ニ於テ日印通商條約及附屬議定書ニ正式調印ヲ濟マセ、雙方ノ批准ヲ經テ本年九月十四日ヨリ實施セラルルニ至リマシタ。爾來今日迄ノ實績ニ徴シマスレバ本條約ノ運用ハ誠ニ順調ニ行ハレ、大局ニ於テ日印貿易ハ満足ナル發展ヲ續ケツツアリマスコトハ、兩國ノ爲極メテ悅ブベキコトデアルト存ジマス。

終リニ目下「バタヴィア」ニ於テ開催中ノ日蘭會商ニ付キマシテハ、實ハ近年ニ於ケル和蘭本國及蘭領印度ノ貿易不況及日本ノ對蘭印輸出ノ激増ニ鑑ミマシテ、本年一月和蘭政府ヨリ之ガ調節ノ爲、現行日蘭通商條約ノ補足的協定ヲ作ルコトヲ目的トスル會商ノ開催方申出ガアリマシタノデ、本會商ガ開始セラルルニ至ツタノデアリマス。我代表部ハ先方代表部トノ間ニ既ニ約六ヶ月ニ亘リ各種ノ問題ヲ討議シ、之ガ妥結ニ努力シテ參リマシタガ、何分ニモ問題ガ極

メテ複雑且多岐ニ亘ツテ居ル關係上、今日迄未ダ十分雙方ノ意見ノ合致スル所迄到ツテ居リマセヌ。併シ帝國政府ト致シマシテハ、終始公正妥當ナル主張ヲ以テ之ニ臨ミ、先方提案ニシテ克ク兩國ノ利益ニ合致シ、且其ノ實現可能ナルモノデアアル限リ十分之ヲ考慮シ、何等カ妥結ノ途ヲ求メント努メテ居ル次第デアリマシテ、本會商ガ近キ將來ニ於テ満足ナル結末ヲ見ルニ至リ、日蘭兩國ノ親善關係増進ニ寄與スル所アランコトヲ希望シテ居ルノデアリマス。

以上申上ゲマシタコトハ何レモ最近ニ於ケル帝國外交上ノ重要案件デアリマシテ、現ニ進行中ノ各案件ガ、何レモ圓滿ナル妥結ニ達シ、關係各國トノ和親ノ増加ニ資シ、以テ一般國際狀勢ノ安定ニ一層ノ貢獻ヲナサンコトヲ期シテ居ルノデアリマスガ、目下内外ノ時局重大ノ折柄、我外交方針ノ遂行ニ就キマシテハ、眞ニ舉國一致朝野各方面ノ協力ヲ衷心ヨリ翹望シテ止マヌ次第デアリマス。

The Address of Mr. Koki Hirota,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
at the 66th Session of the Imperial Diet,

November 30, 1934.

At the 65th Session of the Diet I had occasion to address you on the foreign policy of Japan. A new Cabinet has since been appointed, but I have continued to deal with our various external questions in accordance with the same policy as before.

I am very pleased to say that on the whole our relations with the various countries of Asia, Europe, and America have grown increasingly cordial because better understanding now prevails among the Powers regarding Japan's position in East Asia. Today it is my desire to report on a few important affairs that have engaged our attention since the adjournment of the previous session of the Diet.

The healthy development of our ally, Manchoukuo, is a matter in which we are vitally concerned as may be readily perceived from the Imperial Rescript issued on the occasion of Japan's secession from the League of Nations. We rejoice that the new State has since made

views, thanks to the efforts of the Japanese Government, has now been reached on the price of transfer and most of other major points, leaving only a few technical questions yet to be solved. I expect an early conclusion of the transaction although it will still require some more time before a final settlement of the questions involving minor details can be reached.

The Preliminary Naval Conversations at London are at present being carried on chiefly between the three great naval Powers: Japan, Great Britain, and the United States. The Japanese Government are paying close attention to the progress of the conversations as they touch upon matters of extreme importance. On May 17 this year, the British Government proposed that preliminary conversations be held at London among individual Powers concerned in order to facilitate the work of the Naval Conference scheduled for next year. The Japanese Government, considering such preliminary conversations to be

rapid strides in every branch of national administration, and laid a lasting foundation for the country by the establishment of an Imperial Regime in March last. We have all been profoundly moved by the gracious act on the part of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of despatching His Imperial Highness Prince Chichibu to Manchoukuo to convey His felicitations, which has served to unite the two countries closer than ever.

As for the relations between Japan and the U.S.S.R., there has been some improvement since my last report upon the subject. For instance, the fact that our fishing industry in the northern waters was able to proceed without any trouble this year is a matter for congratulation for the sake of Soviet-Japanese friendship. The negotiations for the transfer of the North Manchuria Railway, temporarily suspended early this year, were resumed in March. Although serious obstacles were encountered time and again, an agreement of

opportune, accepted the British proposal. As the result, the conversations were opened on June 18. To put the matter briefly, at the outset, views were exchanged among the Powers concerned regarding the questions of procedure for the next year's conference, and since the resumption of the conversations in October, discussions on the substantial questions of disarmament have been going on between Japan, Great Britain, and the United States. In these negotiations the Japanese Government, while aiming at Japan's possession of a naval force fully adequate for the security of her national defence, are endeavoring to establish firmly the principle of non-menace and nonaggression. It is according to this principle that Japan proposes the abolition of the ratio principle hitherto in force and the establishment of a common upper limit for the Powers concerned. In consonance with the spirit of disarmament we desire to bring about a thorough and drastic naval reduction and to lighten thereby the tax burden

of the nations in the future. To that end we desire to bring down this common upper limit to the lowest level possible; and at the same time, through a drastic reduction and limitation of offensive arms and the proper adjustment in defensive arms, to render it difficult for any Power to attack another but easy to defend itself. Our delegates are continuing their efforts toward the realization of our plan based on the above policy and at the same time toward the conclusion of a new and reasonable treaty. It is to be hoped that Great Britain, the United States, and other Powers concerned will see the equity and justice of our claim and that a new naval pact will be brought into being to insure and promote world peace. I am not at liberty to give further details now because the developments in the Preliminary Conversations are to be held confidential, but I expect to be able to say more on the subject upon another occasion.

The principal developments in the field of our

commercial relations with foreign countries are as follows. In January this year, the Indo-Japanese Trade Conference progressed to a point where the representatives of both sides arrived at a substantial agreement of views. The negotiations were then held up for a time because of a few questions of fundamental character which were submitted by the Indian Delegation at the time of drafting the articles of the proposed convention. It was on April 19 that a draft convention was finally initialed. The Indo-Japanese Commercial Convention and the additional Protocol, duly signed and ratified by Japan and Great Britain, came into force as from the 14th of September last. It is gratifying to both countries that these instruments have operated smoothly, as has been shown by the actual results so far obtained, and the Indo-Japanese trade is making satisfactory progress.

The Netherlands-Japanese Conference, now in session at Batavia, was opened through the invitation

of the Netherlands Government, which, in view of the trade depression of their own land and of the Netherlands East Indies and the marked increase of Japanese exports to the latter, proposed in January this year to call a conference for the purpose of formulating an agreement intended to supplement the existing Netherlands-Japanese Commercial Treaty and to adjust the above mentioned state of affairs. For the six months past our Delegation have been deliberating with the Netherlands Delegation upon various matters in an earnest endeavor to come to an agreement. But, because of the complex and multifarious problems that have to be dealt with, the Conference has not as yet succeeded in arriving at a complete agreement of views.

However, our Government, maintaining consistently a fair and just attitude, are seeking the way out to a compromise by taking into careful consideration all such proposals made by the Netherlands Delegation as seem to be practical and to serve the common interests

of both countries. I hope that the Conference will come to a successful conclusion in the near future and contribute toward the promotion of the Netherlands-Japanese friendship.

I have now given an account of the latest and more important problems in Japan's foreign affairs. It is my earnest hope that all the pending questions will be solved amicably to the enhancement of the cordiality that marks the relations between Japan and the countries concerned and to the furtherance of the general stabilization of international relations throughout the world.

Finally, in view of the momentous problems confronting us both at home and abroad at this time, let me ask for the cooperation of our people of all classes in the execution of the foreign policy of our Empire.

付報三普通合第一七三三号により情報部から各在外公館に送付された。

7 昭和9年12月(1)日 在仏国三谷(隆信)臨時代理大使より  
広田外務大臣宛(電報)

広田外務大臣の第六十六回議會演説に関する  
仏国各紙報道振りについて

パ リ 発  
本 省 12月1日前着

特情 巴里第五一號

廣田外相ノ演説ハ廿九日夜ノ「ハバス」通信ニ發表サレタ  
佛國各紙ハ廿九日ノ英國皇室御婚儀ノ記事ニヨリ紙面ガ少  
イニモ拘ラズ「マタン」、「エコ・ド・パリ」、「アミ・ドゥー  
ブル」ノ各紙以下多數新聞ガ演説内容ヲ詳報シ「タン」紙  
ノ如キハ全文ヲ掲載シタ

未ダ特ニ論説ヲ示スモノハナイガ「ジュールナル・デ・デバ」  
紙ハ廣田外相ガ海軍問題ニ於テ國防ノ本義ガ何人ニモ脅カ  
サレヌコトニ在ルコトヲ闡明シタ

ト報ジ、「フイガロ」紙ハ「不侵略不脅威ノ原則ノ勝利ニ

邁進シヨウトスル日本政府ノ決意」ヲ特述シテ居ル  
又「エキセルシオル」紙、「ウーブル」紙、「アクシオン」  
フランセーズ」紙等ハ舉ツテ海軍々備ノ徹底的縮減ヲ期ス  
ル外相ノ意圖ヲ賞揚シ全體トシテ海軍問題ニ對スル外相ノ  
平和的態度ヲ喜ブト共ニ日蘇兩國關係ガ好轉シテ居ルトノ  
外相ノ報告ヲ歡迎シテキル

8 昭和9年12月1日 在独国杉下(裕次郎)臨時代理大使より  
広田外務大臣宛(電報)

廣田外務大臣の第六十六回議會演説などに關  
するゾルゲの反日的通信記事について

ベ ル リ ン 12月1日後発  
本 省 12月2日前着

第二二九號

<sup>(1)</sup>三十日議會御演説ニ關シテハ當國半官通信及其ノ他ノ通信  
ハ適正ニ要領ヲ報道シ各新聞之ヲ掲載シタル處只「ローカ  
ル、アンツアイガー」ノ「ゾルゲ」ハ外相ノ議會演説ハ日  
本ノ外交政策上ノ地位ヲ淨化スル結果ヲ有シ能ハサリキト  
ナシ外相ハ英米及露國トノ交渉力有望ナルコトヲ述ヘタル

モ支那ニ關シテハ殊更默セリ日支間ニハ新タナル軋轢生シ  
ツツ有リトノ報道ヲ爲シ同新聞ハ尖鋭化セル日支ノ緊張ナ  
ル見出ヲ付シタリ

尙「ゾルゲ」ハ曩ニ往電第二二二號ノ通信ニ次テ客月廿二  
日東京發電報ヲ以テ日本ノ通信社ハ航空母艦ノ新造ハ條約  
制限外ナリトナシタルモ外務省ハ之ヲ制限内ナリトシ日本  
ハ尙一萬三千噸ノ建造權ヲ有スト述ヘタリ

然レトモ新式航空母艦ハ何レモ三萬噸ナルノミナラス日本

最初ノ提案ハ航空母艦ノ全廢ニアリタルヲ以テ倫敦會議ノ  
前途悲觀セラレ居レリトノ通信ヲ爲シタリ依テ右「ゾ」ノ  
通信ニ對シ貴電第一一六號ニ依リ同新聞ノ注意ヲ喚起シタ  
ル處同新聞社ハ本件通信ニ重大ナル誤アリタルハ遺憾ナル  
モ右ハ日本ニ存スル通信社ノ報道ニ根據シ當地ニ於テ其ノ  
眞否ヲ吟味スル方法ナキヲ以テ責任ヲ負フ能ハストナシタ  
ルカ「ゾ」ノ通信ハ當國ニ送ラルル米國筋通信ヨリモ反日  
的ノモノ鮮カラサルニ付同人ニ注意方御配慮アリ度シ